46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

associates.[11] That being the case, when a change of residence or of denominational affiliation occurs in circumstances other than marriage, some new strategy of achievement may reasonably be inferred.

Voluntary Associations

The data regarding shifting membership in households, fāmili, and congregations suggest that Tongan villagers avoid engaging in arrangements that commit them to sustained cooperation over a long period of time. This appears to be borne out by the following material. A few years before I came to Tonga, money had been raised in Motulahi to provide a piped deep-well water system for the village, whereas before that people had relied exclusively on stored rain-water and shallow open wells. I found, however, that the piped water system worked only irregularly, owing to ineffective arrangements for priming the pump and clearing blocked pipes. According to my notes, on January 26th 1970 tap water was available in Motulahi for the first time since New Year's Day. Nine days after that, the piped water supply quit again for two

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11 In a paper on the phenomenon of denominational diversity in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1977), I argue that the present success of the Mormon Church in attracting new adherents follows the pattern of other churches in previous years, and is best understood as an instance of Tongans' readiness to welcome the possibility of new stratagems.

312 days. It worked on and off for a few months and then in
365 mid-April there was another three-week period in which there was no piped water in the village. During such periods people use the rain water that has accumulated in storage drums and in the village water tank; indeed, it is my impression that depletion of the rain-water is what motivates whichever person takes the initiative to re-activate the tap-water system. There are statutory
312 624 365 regulations that provide for the establishment of a Water Committee in each village to see to collecting the money and overseeing the labor necessary for keeping the village water system in continual working order. In most villages, however, the committees exist in name only, and this is also true in Motulahi.

571 It might be inferred from these data that Tongan villagers are somehow incapable of working for the common good or that they are unwilling to cooperate beyond their own kin-groups and congregations. However, the following
872 658 data will serve as a counter-example. The government primary school in Motulahi has a reputation as a fine school and there has been considerable growth in the student
872 476 population over the years. By 1969 there was beginning to be a severe problem of insufficient classrooms and classes doubling up in the same room. Finally, in October 1969, after raising half the costs of the building materials,

rural characteristics

To the air passenger wheeling over Nuku'alofa on the descent to Fua'amotu airport some ten miles distant, there would be no doubt that the town presents a rural appearance. It would be difficult for him to remember, even if he knew, that below was a town of some 18,000 people with an average population density in excess of the Suva urban area which he had left some three hours earlier. He would see the iron roofed buildings of the administrative and commercial core, but beyond this would recognise no functional specialisation. Many of the houses, small and thatch roofed, would be hidden among the trees. More visible would be the white coral sand of the graveyards, marking the earlier boundaries of the town's component villages. Closer inspection would confirm the observation by Spillius that 98 per cent of the population live in rural conditions.[14] There is no sewerage, reticulated water serves only key government areas and over half the population live in houses made at least in part of indigenous materials, often of traditional design. Towards the margins of the town the number of thatch and composite houses increases, as also does the percentage of migrants squatting on unconfirmed titles to land, and the involvement of agriculture. The town's boundaries, like its position in the rural-urban continuum, taper off slowly and only a broad transition area is distinguishable.

Land in Tonga is occupied on titles that trace their origin to the feudal days of the primitive nobility[15] and to early attempts by the first modern king and his missionary advisors to modify tradition to more closely resemble the system of tenure acceptable in Victorian England.[16] This blending of traditional and introduced, Tongan and Western, permeates almost every facet of Tongan life. It was consciously and deliberately introduced by a far-sighted monarch in an attempt to consolidate his position within a traditional framework and it served its function of perpetuating traditional content within a modified and apparently modern or western form.[17] Thus, all land belongs to the Crown and through it to the nobles and government in the form of hereditary estates or tofi'a. These tofi'a are subsequently divided into 'api kolo or town allotments and 'api tukuhau or country allotments and all male tax payers are legally entitled to a town and country allotment, although this right cannot always be exercised. The occupier has only a life interest though it is usually inherited according to stipulated laws of succession which favour the eldest son and the widow. The town dweller in this respect is in no way different from the country dweller. He is attached to the land and the ownership and direction of this land is of family concern. Its social significance is at least equal to its economic significance. Thus, although some two-thirds of the town's household heads were without registered 'api tukuhau in 1963, only one-fifth had no access

368 Besides dwellings and the attendant secondary buildings, Puke has
366 a church, a town building, a kindergarten, a clinic and a store. All except the last are grouped on a small piece of land donated by the noble for community purposes. The store is located next to the house of the store owner.

491 An unsurfaced road connects the village with the main road and
494 buses traveling the main road are usually the only form of motor trans-
365 port used by the villagers. A power line runs beside the main road but no feeder line has been extended to Puke and there is no other source
312 of electrical power. The major sources of water are rain catchment and storage in brick and cement cisterns. There are also a few hand-dug wells from which water is obtained by rope and bucket.

Village Demography

162 Village population in 1971 was 261 persons living in 42 households.
[592] Table 5_A^A describes the population by age and sex. The population has
(166) grown considerably since 1955 due largely to migration from more remote
[161] islands of Tonga (See Table 6_A^B for origin of household heads and Table 7_A^C
369 for crude growth rates). Puke, being close to Nuku'alofa, has experi-
166 enced the effects of rural-to-urban migration in the archipelago (See Walsh 1969: 95-98). Recent immigrants have come to Puke because it provides easy access to services centered in Nuku'alofa not available in most of the more rural locales. Opportunity for education and better health care are frequently given as reasons for wishing to live close
166 to Nuku'alofa. Informants also mention the greater availability of

A, B, C [See pp. 27-29 respectively--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

241 Because there are no surface streams on Tongatapu, the
312 required water must come from either wells or storage tanks. Of 134 sample households, only 33 percent water for cropping on their bush allotments. Of the 134 households, 13 percent had wells; 1 percent had cement catchment system; and 20 percent transported water from their town allotment or from other bush allotments. There are motorized pump irrigation systems on large plantations, lands of the missionary societies, and on a few bush allotments that were not included in the sample survey.

On town allotments irrigation is more prevalent. Out of 150 sample households, there was a greater percentage of households with dependable water sources: 29 percent with wells, 15 percent with cement tanks, 9 percent with corrugated iron tanks, 9 percent with private piped-in water, and
[365] 70 percent with access to a public water system. In the area of Nuku'alofa where there is a public water system, there is a corresponding increase in the intensity and
241 diversity of cropping and planting or ornamentals. This
231 however, is due partially to a law prohibiting unpenned or
656 untethered pigs and other animals in town.

242 The Department of Agriculture's Experimental Farm at
654 Vaini and a number of missionary societies have experimented
241 with a wide variety of new crops in an attempt to improve subsistence and commercial agricultural production. These
241 experimental crops, as well as many past introductions such
242

/92 cont./

553 551 rendered: "the coconut whose offshoot comes out of the sea, to take root on the shore [whither it was driven]").

B. Village Life

a) Settlement and Community

361 162 The Tongans today live in villages. These differ in size. In general, they have several hundred inhabitants. In the smallest settlements on a few islands there are approximately 50 to 80 natives living. The largest, "urbanized" villages, on the other hand, are: 632 [162] Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) with approximately 4500 inhabitants, Neiafu (Vava'u) with approximately 2200, Mu'a (Tongatapu) with approximately 1400, and Pangai-Hihifo (Lifuka) with approximately 1000. In these [464] larger towns many Tonga already work in trade, industry and government [366] service; here there are rather large department stores and cars; [493] Nuku'alofa and Neiafu have paved streets, also cinemas, and, in the [363] former telephones and electric light have been installed. But here too, [368] in the larger settlements, the majority of Tongans have plantations and [365] work them more or less regularly--to some extent along with other [423] occupations.

621 162 /93/ The following figures were obtained in average Tongan villages

592 362

	Number of inhabitants	Households (cook hut & meals in common)	Living- (sleeping houses)
Nomuka.....	567	85	125
'Uiha ('Uiha).....	647	100	143
Felemea ('Uiha).....	372	48	72
Fungamisi (Vava'u).....	263	45	55

368 In an average Tongan village there are usually three or four churches of various denominations. (264)

264. Even on the island of 'O'ua (Ha'apai group)